

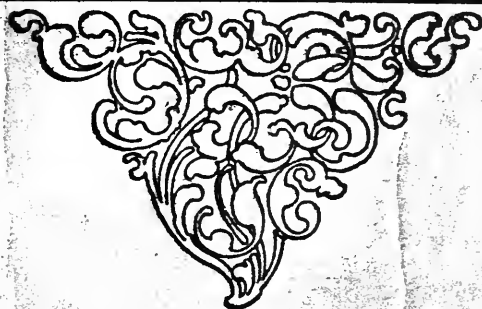
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THE NEGRO IN AMERICA

MAR AN ADDRESS

Delivered before the Philosophical Institution
of Edinburgh, 16th October 1907

BY

ANDREW CARNEGIE, Esq., LL.D.



COMMITTEE OF TWELVE

**FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF THE NEGRO RACE
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Ladies and Gentlemen of the Philosophical Institution;

SO many and varied have been the subjects treated by my predecessors in your long history, that one has some difficulty in selecting a theme. I escape this, however, by breaking fresh ground in bringing to your attention "The Negro in America."

No racial movement in the world to-day is more interesting; few, if any, are more important. We here deal with ten millions of people—double the population of Scotland—recently not men but slaves,—the very last slaves held by a member of our English-speaking race,—who were not only suddenly made free-men, but also entrusted with the ballot.

Proud is the boast,

"Slaves cannot breathe in Britain! If their lungs
Receive our air, that moment they are free.
They touch our country, and their shackles fall."

But where the poet-liberator stops, his part finisht, the statesman's work only begins. The shackles fall, but the citizen fails to emerge. How is the slave to gain self-control, wisdom's root, when all his days he has been controlled by others? "Arise and walk" was once said to the lame, but a miracle-worker was required to effect this instant cure. It is the necessarily slow development of the slave into the citizen which I propose to lay before you to-night.

In one respect the problem is unique. The negro is called upon to rise in the scale from slavery to

citizenship in the presence of a civilization representative of the highest,—his shortcomings, backslidings, failures, cannot but be numerous and discouraging, and the contrasts between whites and blacks in many respects such as to produce the belief in the minds of their former masters that the end striven for is unattainable. Once a slave, always a slave, so far as the negro race is concerned, is their natural conclusion.

The first cargo of slaves, twenty in number, was landed at Jamestown, Va., August 1619, only a few years after the original Colonists settled at Jamestown, and one year before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth. When the Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776, there were already five hundred and two thousand slaves in the country. The Constitution, however, limited their importation, and the act of 1807 abolished it. Natural increase almost alone, therefore produced in the hundred years, 1790 to 1890, a ten-fold increase, to seven millions and a-half. The last slaves were smuggled in against the law as late as 1858.

Boston had become one of the chief ports for the slave trade, but experience proved that the warmer South, not the icy North, was to be the negro's home. They rapidly gravitated southward, and found their place in the cotton fields. Virginia, under the influence of Jefferson, was the first to prohibit the importation of slaves. Slavery was abolished by State after State in the North, and it became common for people of the best element in the border States, represented by Washington and his circle, sometimes before and frequently by will after their death to manumit their slaves. Needless to say, good men and women treated them well, and were often repaid by loyal and even intense devotion, but, if it were to continue, the relationship demanded that it be unlawful to teach slaves to read. Education is moral dynamite which invariably explodes into rebellion. This is one of the penalties that we of the English-speaking

race have to pay for our well-meant attempts to govern what are called subject races. In teaching our history, we supply them with the most deadly explosives, sure some day to burst and rend the teacher. We "teach bloody instructions which return to plague the inventors," unless we be wise, and from time to time grant the liberties we ourselves extol and enjoy. Intelligence forces equal rights; hence the unrest in Egypt, India, the Philippines, and other countries under foreign tutelage is, in one sense, a wholesome sign as proving that the awakening masses are stirred to action and demand recognition as fellow-citizens, thus showing that our teaching, and especially our example, have had their inevitable and, let us never forget, their salutary effect. Let it never be said that our race teaches men how to remain slaves, but always how they can become freemen—not that they should forget their own country, but how they can repeat, like ourselves, with throbbing heart,

"Breathes there a man with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
'This is my own, my native land.'"

Only so can the mother of nations be proud of her children, or America some day be proud of the Philippines to which she has just given a Legislature.

It is, at first thought, remarkable that the negro in America has been so long-suffering. There never was a negro conspiracy nor a united revolt of any great importance in the United States. Never were national troops needed to repress serious outbreak. But let it be remembered that the Southerner, the master, knew better than to teach them as we now teach subject races. It was unlawful to teach the slave to read. Ignorance is the only possible foundation upon which dominion over others can rest. When I talked to the natives of India who had been educated in your schools there, and heard from them how Washington, Cromwell, Sidney, Pym, Hampden and others were revered, I was proud that our race

develops men, not slaves. As Burke said—"We view the establishment of the colonies on principles of liberty, as that which is to render this kingdom venerable in future ages"—a nobler triumph than all Britain's armies and fleets ever give. This is true glory.

The North would probably have acquiesced in the constitutional recognition of slavery in the original slave States so long as each citizen felt that his own State was free from its blight, and it might have died peacefully as with you in the West Indies thru compensation.

You may remember that Lincoln earnestly favored this policy. When he met the Vice-President and other Confederate officials at City Point, he took a sheet of paper and said—"Gentlemen, let me write here at the top 'Emancipation,' and you may fill the rest of the sheet with your conditions." Imagine what would have been saved had the southern leaders been prepared to give up the accursed system—the hundreds of thousands of human lives sacrificed, the enmities aroused, thousands of millions of dollars wasted. So it is with brutal war which always decides, not who is right, but only who is strong.

Population from North and South began to pour into the western territories. Were these to be "slave" or "free?" This was the issue; hence sprang the irrepressible conflict. The South claimed the right to hold slaves anywhere upon common territory. The North opposed granting a single foot of territory beyond the old States, where the Constitution recognized slavery. The same spirit that stirred Britain and compelled the abolition of slavery in the West Indies animated the North. Slavery became in the eyes of Northern people the accursed thing, "the sum of all villainies," and, as a matter of fact, it was not good Americanism. Many runaway slaves crossed the border, pursued by officers, who in some cases were accompanied by trained dogs. Slaves also passed over the border rivers

sometimes on the ice. The pursuers were not accorded enthusiastic welcome in the North, and little of the assistance which the law required was given in the chase. The South demanded and secured a fugitive slave law from Congress. The rival parties, Free-Soil Northerners and Slave-holding Southerners, encountered each other in the Territories, and very soon the whole country was at fever heat.

When the North was required by law to assist in capturing men flying from slavery and return them to it, there was an end to all discussion. Human slavery at last became not merely a political but also a moral question. Was the Republic to be a Free or Slave Power?—an issue only to be decided by the most gigantic contest of modern times. Into this the slaves were drawn. Lincoln with a stroke of the pen emancipated them, and thus almost the last vestige of slavery vanished from the civilized world. (Brazil abolished slavery in 1871; Porto Rico in 1873; Cuba in 1880; and the United States abolished slavery in the Philippines in 1902.) The rebellion was crushed, and so far all was well, but as the colored people were the only loyalists thruout the South (with certain notable white exceptions), and had served surprisingly well in the Army, the rash step was taken of instantly conferring the suffrage upon them. Perhaps the best defense of the measure is that it was a choice of evils. Only thru negroes it was urged was the general government enabled to maintain its sovereignty and ensure loyal Congressional representatives, thus securing Constitutional Government over the South. The white people of the South, intensely loyal to their States as against the Government, were infuriated by the ascendancy of their former slaves. No situation could be imagined more certain than this to drive further apart the two races, and to embitter the feelings of the Southern whites against the colored allies of the victorious North. Such was the condition in America at the close of the war, some forty odd years ago.

Here we have between four and five millions of slaves, formerly held in ignorance, unable to read or write, without churches, schools, or property of any kind, and yet called upon to perform the duties of citizenship, their former masters surrounding them incensed at their elevation. How were the negroes recently slaves to be made fit as citizens?—a problem that might appal the bravest. Yet this was the one fundamental requirement, for without improvement of the black race no satisfactory solution was possible.

After a period of fifty years we are to-night to enquire whether the American negro has proved his capacity to develop and improve; this I propose to answer by citing facts.

The first question the ethnologist will naturally ask is:—Has he proved himself able to live in contact with civilization, and increase as a freeman, or does he slowly die out like the American Indian, Maori or Hawaiian? The Census answers that the total number of negroes in America

In 1880 was 6,580,793,

In 1900, 8,840,789.

Increase in twenty years, 2,259,996, equal to 34.3 per cent., almost double the rate of increase of the United Kingdom, and within three per cent, of the increase of America, white and black combined. The negro race numbers to-day about ten millions. It does not increase as fast as the white in America because there is no black immigration; taking only native whites and blacks, their relative increase must be about equal. There is no trace of decline here, but a surprizingly rapid rate of increase, one of the surest proofs of a virile race calculated to survive in the struggle for existence. The first test, therefore, we may consider successfully met.

Now for the second:—Scotland's proud position among nations rests chiefly upon the realization of the famous declaration of John Knox, "I will never rest until there is a Public School in every Parish

in Scotland," which finally led to the noble enactment which proclaims that, "no father, of what estate or condition that ever he may be, use his children at his own fantasie, especially in their childhood, but all must be compelled to bring up their children in learning and virtue." You will agree with me, I am sure, that the second test of capacity to reach the standard of citizenship is the passion for education, the desire to be able to read, write and cypher. Before the war this broad avenue to all progress was closed to the slave. Let us see whether he has taken advantage of the door that opened after slavery was abolisht.

The censuses of 1870 and 1900, thirty years apart, compare as follows as to illiteracy of the negro males of voting age:—

	Total Number.	Illiterates.	Per cent.
1870	1,032,475	862,243	83.5
1900	2,060,302	976,610	47.4

Thus in thirty years illiteracy has fallen 43 per cent. At same rate of progress, it is to-day (1907) not one-half as great as in 1870.

Of the first 1,032,000 of people in 1870, 862,000 were illiterate. The second 1,028,000 of 1900 added only 114,000, nearly eight illiterates in the 1870 males of voting age to one illiterate in the second million increase up to 1900.

We have an instructive census table showing illiterates in the colored population of ten years of age and over for 1880 and 1900:—

	Total Number.	Illiterates.	Per cent.
1880	4,601,207	3,220,878	70.0
1900	*6,415,581	2,853,194	44.5

a decrease in illiteracy of thirty-six per cent. in twenty years.

While illiteracy among the negroes is being rapidly reduced, we must not forget an equally encouraging reduction among the poor whites, a class that was much to be pitied during slavery, with the contempt for honest labor that followed slavery as

*Indians included, some 345,000.

its shadow. The slave master performed no labor, and was as a rule above trade,—a territorial magnate fashioned after that class in Britain. The poor white aimed at that standard and hence declined to learn handicrafts. A small piece of ground, usually rented, sufficed to keep him alive, and everything approaching manual labor was work for slaves. Illiteracy prevailed to an enormous extent. The census of 1900, however, showed that the South had reduced the percentage of native white males who could not read and write to sixteen per cent.

In considering the Southern problem, we must never forget that the "poor whites" are an element complicating the situation, the attitude of this class to the black being intensely hostile—far beyond that of the former slave-holding aristocrats.

There was no public school system in any Southern State before the war; now there is no State without one, embracing negro as well as white schools.

Since 1880, negro churches have contributed for negro education \$9,549,700, almost Two Millions Sterling, to supplement deficiencies of the State systems.

The colored Church is chiefly composed of Methodists and Baptists, and is a great force among the negroes, exercising commanding influence. Let all doubters of the future of the negro race remember that it has 23,462 church organisations and has built 23,770 churches, with a seating capacity of six millions, eight hundred thousand. It has 2,673,977 communicants out of ten millions population; few adult negroes are outside of the Church. Their Church property is valued at \$26,626,448—over Five and One-Half Millions sterling. It may be doubted whether even Scotland's percentage of communicants reaches that of the whole negro race. Many of the foremost leaders of the negro people are to be found among their churchmen. They have been especially fortunate in their Bishops who are elected, not appointed, and are active, progressive men.

In 1860, negro schools were almost unknown, it being unlawful to teach the slave. In the year 1900, 1,096,734 colored youths attended public school, and 17,138 attended higher schools of learning. The warfare against ignorance goes on apace among both whites and blacks. For twenty years after the war progress in providing negro schools by the States was very slow, but since 1880 there has been spent by the States in their support, \$105,807,930—about Twenty-five Millions Sterling. In addition to this, all over the South the negro is providing additional school buildings and extending the term for keeping them open each year beyond that fixt by the States, the additional cost thereof being defrayed by the negroes.

The strong religious tendency which characterizes the negro finds vent in Young Men's Christian Associations. Three men are employed by the National Committee, who devote themselves exclusively to their foundation and control. Thirty-seven associations already exist in the principal cities. Twenty-three paid secretaries give their entire time to the work, which is extending rapidly.

In seven States—Delaware, Arkansas, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana—the

Cost of Negro Common Schools in

1900 was\$1,345,859.

Whereas Negroes contributed 1,496,036.

"Excepting a few city systems, it can be said that apparently negroes in the South contributed to their schools in 1899, \$3,762,617 out of a total cost of \$4,675,504, leaving but \$912,887 to be paid by the whites."

The higher education of the Negro has not been neglected. There are several Universities prominent among these are Howard University, Washington, D. C., established 1867, and has graduated from its college and professional departments about 2500 students, many of

whom have become successful preachers, professors, physicians and lawyers.

Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., established 1866, and has graduated 615 students, who have generally entered the professions or become teachers.

There are now in the country 136 Colleges and "Industrial Schools" exclusively for the education of negroes, apart from the Public Schools.

It will be many years before this immense and sparsely populated region known as The South can boast that Knox's scheme is completed; but at the present rate of progress this century apparently will not close upon a "Parish" minus its public school.

Such is the gratifying evidence that the negro race shares with the Scotch the passion for education.

We now come to the third vital test of a race, only less important than the other two. We have seen that the negro is rapidly becoming a reading and writing man; permit me to give some facts proving that he is also becoming a saving man.

Surely no better proof can be given of his desire and ability to rise and become a respectable member of society than the production of a bank-book with a good balance, or, better still, the title to a farm or a home free of debt. The saving man is par excellence the model citizen—peaceable, sober, industrious and frugal. The magic of property works wonders indeed, and pray remember once more that only forty-three years ago he, a slave, the property of a master, found himself suddenly and without warning his own master, face to face with duties to which he was wholly a stranger—self-support, self-direction and self-control, the care of wife and children, wage-earning and the expenditure of wages, the duties of citizenship, including the right of voting, all thrust upon him who had been until that hour possess of nothing, not even of himself, without home, school, church, or any of the elements of civilized life. The horse or cow fed in its stall and worked on the estate had scarcely less to do with providing for itself than the

general field slave. Only the few household servants and craftsmen were of a much higher class.

Has the negro shown the ambition and the ability to save and own his home or his farm? Does he take to the land, and is he making a successful farmer and landlord? These are vital points bearing upon his future. Let us examine the record.

In 1900 no less than 746,717 farms, 38,233,933 acres, 59,741 square miles, just the area of England and Wales, or double that of Scotland, were owned or tenanted by negroes, who forty years previously owned nothing. These embraced, in the Southern Central States, 27.2 per cent. of all the farms; in the South Atlantic States, 30 per cent.; in the Southern States—Florida 33 per cent., Georgia 39.9 per cent., Alabama 42 per cent., Louisiana 50.2 per cent., and Mississippi 55 per cent. The negro has more farms than the whites in the last two States, but it must be remembered that the average size of negro farms is very much less than those of the whites.

The figures just quoted include farms owned or tenanted by negroes, i. e., they were either landlords or farmers. When we come to farms in the hands of owners we find that in the twelve Southern States negro landlords in 1900 owned 173,352 farms, and the aggregate wealth of negroes was estimated at \$300,000,000.

The race that owned not an acre of land forty years ago is now possessor as landlords of an area larger than Belgium and Holland combined, and rapidly increasing. The negroes have the land hunger, one of the best qualities, and they are entering freely into the landlord class, a statement which perhaps may be calculated to arouse your sympathy in Scotland, but when the owner is landlord, factor, farmer, and worker all combined, and really does a hard day's work, dividends appear.

The white American landlord, factor, farmer and worker, all in one, is the backbone of the body politic, always conservative as against revolutionary

projects, but moving ahead with the times, intelligent, fair-minded, exceedingly well-behaved, a kindly neighbor and model citizen. They exceed five millions in number. The negro landlord may be trusted to develop in due time into the likeness of his white neighbor and draw his race upward after him.

We hear much of the unsatisfactory relations between the two races in the South, but we may safely conclude that the peaceful settlement of these thousands of Negro landlords would have been impossible and on the part of the Negroes undesired had there not been peace and good will between them and their white neighbors.

Virginia is the foremost Southern State. She has one hundred counties. In thirty-three counties eighty per cent. of the negro farmers own and manage their land; in fifty, seventy per cent. do so; and only nineteen counties have more white than negro farmers.

In 1898, negroes in Virginia owned 978,118 acres; in 1903, 1,304,471 acres, a gain by negro landlords in five years of 326,353 acres.

The total business capital of negroes in Virginia in 1889 was \$5,691,137; in 1899, \$8,784,637. Seventy-nine per cent. of them had less than \$2500 each (£500), so that a great number use their own funds.

Georgia is one of the most prosperous of the Southern States.

Land owned by negroes:—

	Acres.	Value.
1900	1,075,073	\$4,274,549
1901	1,141,135	4,656,042

showing 70,000 acres added in one year. The assest value (the actual value being double) of all property owned by negroes in the State was:—

In 1900\$14,118,720

1901 15,629,181

an increase of a Million and a Half of Dollars, or nearly eleven per cent. in one year.

The negro has often been described as lazy and indolent, yet the census shows that in the South 84.1

per cent. of colored males and 40.7 per cent. of females over 10 years are engaged in gainful occupations, while of the white population of the country the percentage is 79.5, and only 16 per cent. of females. The negro is chiefly employed in agriculture. The census of 1900 shows 1,344,125 agricultural laborers and 757,822 farmers, planters and overseers. The impression of laziness probably arises from climate. The negro does not, nor does any race, work as hard in the sunny south as in colder climates. There is another point not to be lost sight of—how a man works as a slave or servant for a master does not prove how he will work as a freeman for himself.

The negro agriculturists, as has been seen, are rapidly becoming landlords. Those residing in cities show similar ambition to acquire real estate. Jackson, Mississippi, for instance, is owned to the extent of one-seventh by negroes, who have Two and a Half Millions of Dollars worth of taxable property. A statement is given for Richmond, Va., showing that there as elsewhere negroes are engaged in every occupation and profession—ten Lawyers, thirty Ministers, three Dentists, ten Physicians, two Photographers, School Masters, Real Estate Dealers, Merchants, Tailors, Jewelers, thirty-five Dressmakers, four Savings Banks, four Newspapers (Weekly), four Restaurant-keepers, sixteen Stenographers. Every field of human activity is represented. The first Physician in Richmond to use a motor-car was a negro. The resources of the First Colored People's Bank are reported at \$555,288 (£115,000). There are thirty-three negro banks in the country. Building and Loan Associations and Insurance Companies are not overlooked; several have been organized and are being successfully conducted by negroes in various cities. There are in the United States 1734 Negro Physicians and Surgeons, and 125 Drug Stores owned by negroes. Not only are all professions filled by negroes; the Patent Office in Washington shows four hundred inventions patented by them.

The desire to own a home is one of the most encouraging of all traits in the masses of a nation. In 1865 the negroes were almost without homes of their own. In 1900, thirty-five years later, there were 372,414 owners of homes, and of these 225,156 were free of encumbrance.

Home is the cradle of the virtues. Man is not quite up to the standard until he can say proudly to himself "This is my own, my precious home," and if he be able to add "and all paid for," so much the better. He has given the best proof possible of his good citizenship. This is our bulwark in America against revolutionary or socialistic ideas. So many millions own their homes that they control political action. The right of private property is sacred. Individualism rules in the Republic.

The negro has not overlookt the Press as an essential element of modern progress. Several attempts were made to establish newspapers previous to 1847. In later years, however, many have become successful. The newspaper directory for 1905 gives 140 publications of every class publisht by negroes, but it is said to be incomplete. There are six negro magazines, two of these quarterly, denominational publications, four being monthly and undenominational. Most of the newspapers are devoted to local affairs and of little general interest, but some twenty-five publisht by negroes in different sections of the country are said to be really creditable to the profession of Journalism.

The negro has not failed to make his appearance in literature. Booker Washington's "Up from Slavery" needs no comment. Professor DuBois's "The Souls of Black Folk" has attracted much attention. Charles W. Chestnutt's several books, bearing upon the race question are notable. T. Thomas Fortune, editor of the New York Age, the most successful negro editor, has written two interesting books, "The Negro in Politics," and "Black and White," has also publisht a volume of poems and has been prominent

in all efforts to elevate his race. Dunbar, the poet, called the Burns of his race, who has recently passed away, was brought to the attention of the public by Howells. A new negro poet who has recently claimed recognition is William S. Braithwaite. Henry O. Tanner, the negro artist, has recently won the Gold Medal at Paris, and is now represented in the Luxembourg. A negro student at Harvard University this year won the Rhodes Scholarship against fifty-six white competitors.

It is true that many of these and other conspicuous negroes have white blood in their veins, but as they remain negroes and labor for and with their people, this makes no difference whatever. We are ourselves fortunately a very mixed race. The point is not what the mixture but what the product is; and so in estimating the negro race and its probable future we must take it as it is. The presence of white blood is one of the elements of the case.

Pka Isaka Seme, a pure blooded Zulu took the prize in an oratorical contest at Columbia University, in 1906. J. G. Groves, the negro "Potato King" of to-day, so-called from his having grown in the State of Kansas 72,150 bushels of that indispensable article, an average of 245 bushels to the acre, is a full blooded Negro. He is one of the coming negro millionaires, and was born of negro parents in slavery. He already owns five farms. Alfred Smith, the "Cotton King" of Oklahoma, is another typical instance of negro ability; when Sherman marched thru Georgia he was following a gray mule behind a plow. After he gained his freedom he emigrated early to Oklahoma and took up a "claim," and began taking premiums for the best cotton. In 1900 he received first prize at the World's Fair at Paris. Another millionaire in embryo.

Deal Jackson is another. He has a reputation all over Georgia. He has for the past ten years brought the first bale of cotton to market, owns two thousand acres, employs one hundred men, and has forty-six

mules and horses. Another negro, W. H. Johnson, of Virginia, is one of the most successful exporters of walnut logs. At present he has three properties. He also is making a fortune rapidly. Isaiah T. Montgomery, a slave until emancipated by Lincoln, was offered a large tract of land in Mississippi by the Yazoo and Mississippi Railroad Co. provided he succeeded in founding a negro town, as white people could not live there. He succeeded, and is now at the head of a colony of about two thousand people, president of a bank, and his town is attracting attention. He is no ordinary man, having been the only negro elected to the State Constitutional Convention. (See "World's Work" for June.)

These and other examples show that, like other races that have risen, our own included, the negro is capable of producing at intervals the exceptional man who stimulates his fellows. The race that produces leaders is safe and certain to develop. If a race bring forth at intervals a Wallace and a Bruce, a Knox and a Buchanan, a Burns and a Scott, a Hume and an Adam Smith, a Carlyle and a Mill, a Watt and a Nielson, the result must be an advanced people. Every leader compels a following, which improves his race. Even the humbler men in the South whom I have mentioned as developing natural resources, and making money in so doing, are in a sense also leaders among their people, and raise the standard of life in greater or less degree of those about them.

While the North has been for five years, and is still, enjoying the longest and greatest uninterrupted period of material prosperity ever known, and has had several shorter periods of similar character since the war, the South has only rallied from its lethargy within the past few years. It is now partaking of the boom, and prices of land, city lots, and all kinds of property have advanced; a scarcity of labor exists, and Committees are being formed to induce organized immigration from Europe to Southern ports. Italian colonies are being planted in various localities.

Wealth is often under-rated in both countries. It is upon the foundation of material prosperity that the South is now building more churches and school-houses, industrial and medical colleges, and the people spending more upon education. Without this new wealth there would be less surplus to apply to the higher ends. The dress of the people, and the homes and modes of life are changing rapidly for the better thru the entire South. Philanthropists laboring among the negroes concur in testifying that nothing stirs their ambition and drives them to honest, unremitting labour, and to educate themselves, like the magical touch of property, something they can call their own. It may be doubted whether there be any guarantee for the production of desirable citizens, equal to the possession of their own sweet little homes. A man thus most surely gives a bond to fate, and makes assurance of good citizenship doubly sure.

Permit me to give you a few figures showing the rapid growth of the South. Before the war there was not a yard of cotton cloth manufactured there. Last year there were added 794,034 spindles and 9871 looms in her cotton factories. Most surprising fact of all, there were more yards of cloth woven in the South in 1906 than in the North, altho production in the North also slightly increased. This manufacture, hitherto mostly concentrated in the New England States, is being rapidly extended in the South where the cotton is grown. Now that labor is becoming honorable since slavery died, the poor whites are flocking to the cotton mills and various other factories now being establisht, and proving themselves capable operatives. Testimony has just been given that one-third more labor is required in the cotton mills, but the white element, partly immigrants, may be depended upon soon to supply this. Last year there were more than three thousand miles of railway built in the Southern States, and eighty-four million tons of coal mined. The yearly cotton

crop exceeds eleven millions of bales. In 1850 it was only two and a quarter millions. It must be steadily increased to meet the world's needs. In short, the hitherto impoverished South is sharing the unprecedented boom which has prevailed in the North for some years. The question used sometimes to be asked in former days—what could be done with the negro? The question to-day is, how more of them and of other workers can be obtained. The negro has become of immense economic value and is indispensable where he is.

Touching the good qualities of the negro, he has much to his credit. During the civil war his devotion to good masters and mistresses was touching. They were left at home while their masters, almost to a man, joined the Southern army. It was the exception when slaves upon an estate were cruelly treated, and the relations between white and black were surprisingly free from bitterness. This does not mean that the slaves did not hail Lincoln's proclamation with joy, but it does prove that as a class the American negro is of happy disposition, placable, affectionate, singularly free from promptings to commit secret crimes, most grateful and responsive to kindness. There is nothing of the plotting assassin in him.

We are staggered now and then by an assault of some low and brutal negro upon a white woman. Every case of this kind is given widest publicity, and naturally arouses the strongest passions. Every man and woman in the neighborhood is aroused and mad for instant and sweeping punishment. Sometimes there are officials who insist upon the wretch being imprisoned and duly tried months hence, but the mad-dened friends of the outraged victim are in no mood for parleying and he is hung instanter.

"Judge" Lynch is not infrequently accused of punishing the innocent and lynching for other causes than criminal assault—undue haste or excessive "efficiency" is his fault. The Chicago Tribune which

has kept a statistical record of lynchings since 1881 says in the "Independent" September 29, 1904:—"Whenever a Negro is lynched for criminal assault the Southern newspapers, and sometimes the Northern, will headline its "story" or its editorial comment, "Lynched for the usual cause." This glaring misstatement is unjust to the Negro race. Criminal assault is not the "usual cause":—"As the population becomes better educated these brutal attacks may be expected to cease. They are steadily decreasing. In 1885, 181 assaults were made; 1906, only 72, less than half, although the population had increased one-third. It is stated that in Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri, which have large Negro populations there are neither rapes nor lynchings.

It is this crime and the excessive publicity given to these, impromptu executions that create the false impression that the Negro as a class is lawless, while the contrary is true.

The remaining vital negro political question is that of the suffrage. The National Constitution provides that no State shall discriminate on account of color. Many of the Southern States now require ability to read and write, which applies to whites as well as blacks. The best people, both North and South, approve this educational test. One good effect is that it gives illiterates, both white and black, a strong inducement to educate themselves. There is a large number of blacks who are able to meet these new requirements for voting. *The Committee of twelve gives the following advice to these:

"As citizens of the United States you cannot value too highly your right to vote, which is an expression of your choice of the officers who shall be placed in control of your nearest and dearest interests.

You are urged to pay all of your taxes at the required time, and especially your poll tax which is by the Constitution of every Southern State made a

*Twelve representative colored men selected by a central body to work for the advancement of the interests of the negro race.

special fund for the support of the free public schools.

You are also admonished against the commission of any crime, great or small, as the conviction of almost any crime will deprive you of your right to vote, and put upon you lasting shame and disgrace.

It is especially urged that as voters you should seek to be on friendly terms with your white neighbors in the communities in which you live, so that you may consult with them about your common interests; and that you should ally yourselves with the best people in your community for the general good. It is of the utmost importance to the race, and it cannot be urged too strongly upon your attention that nothing should influence your vote except a desire to serve the best interests of the country, and of your State."

One cannot fail to sympathize with the educated element in communities mostly composed of illiterates, who outvote the intelligent. A few illiterates in an electoral district of the North, or here in Britain, matters little, but where these are in the majority it is an entirely different matter. The solution of the suffrage question probably lies thru this educational test. When negroes generally are able to meet this, we may assume that their entrance into political life in due course will not be keenly resented. As Confucius long since told us—"There being education, there can be no distinction of classes."

Booker Washington contends that good moral character and industrial efficiency, resulting in ownership of property, are the pressing needs and the sure and speedy path to recognition and enfranchisement. A few able negroes are disposed to press for the free and unrestricted vote immediately. We cannot but hope that the wiser policy will prevail.

You may be wondering how this transformation from slave to citizen, so far as it has gone, has been accomplished.

The education of the negro began in earnest thru the Freedmen's Bureau, established by Act of Congress

in 1865, a few years after the war. General Howard, who was placed in command, proved most successful, head and heart being interested in the cause. At the end of five years, when it was thought no longer necessary because of the general interest awakened, its record showed that 4239 schools for colored pupils had been established in the South, with 9307 teachers and 247,333 pupils, the Bureau having taught nearly one million black children to read and write; the cost to the General Government had been Six and a Half Million Dollars.

Upon the scene, now appeared one of those rare leaders who seem designed for new and difficult tasks, impossible for ordinary men—nothing short of an original holds the key. Such a man was revealed in a young enthusiast who, born of an American Missionary family in Hawaii, became General Armstrong. Shortly after he graduated at Williams College in Massachusetts, came Lincoln's call for volunteers to save the Union. To this young Armstrong promptly responded. He put up a tent in the Public Park at Troy, and asked for recruits to form a company, who soon came to the bright, young would-be captain, and off he went to the front at their head. He writes to his mother—"The first day of January is at hand when the slaves shall be free; then I shall know that I am contending for freedom and for the oppressed. I shall then be willing and less grieved if I fall for such a cause." Here we have the spirit of the Crusader. He soon distinguished himself, and was promoted to the rank of Major. Tho his command had hitherto been over white troops, at his request he was made Colonel of one of the first negro regiments, and here his genius had scope. He wrote his mother upon taking command—"The star of Africa is rising. Her millions now for the first time catch glimpse of a glorious dawn, and their future, in my opinion, rests largely upon the success of the negro troops in this war. Their honour and glory will insure the freedom of their race." The regiment soon made a mark for

itself. One officer reported that "Armstrong's soldiers felt toward him a regard that amounted almost to deification." He was soon made a General. When the Freedmen's Bureau was created at the close of the war, General Howard gave command of the Virginia District to Armstrong, who finally determined to devote his life to the elevation of the negro race. He wrote to his mother—"Till now my future has been blind." He soon decided to establish a pioneer school to teach both sexes "manual labor as a moral force," and Hampton Institute appeared. Under the slave regime, manual labor had been held as fit only for slaves, and naturally the enfranchised negroes looked upon idleness as the only real reward of life. They had now to learn that useful labor was the duty of man and his title to honor. Armstrong succeeded in interesting a number of excellent people in the North, and, after overcoming innumerable obstacles, he finally triumphed. He had rare power of attracting others and enthusing them with his own desire to labor for the negro. Many New England teachers, especially women, went to Hampton and led lives of devotion to the holy cause of uplifting the former slave. No less than Fifteen Million of Dollars (Three Millions Stg.) have been contributed by Northern people for this purpose.

Among General Armstrong's private papers after his death this paragraph was found, giving what he "would wish known were he suddenly to die."

"In the school the great thing is not to quarrel, and to get rid of workers whose temperaments are unfortunate no matter how much knowledge or culture they may have. Cantankerousness is worse than heterodoxy."

He wished to be buried in the College grave-yard among his colored students, "where one of them would have been had he died next. No monument or fuss whatever over my grave. I wish the simplest funeral service without sermon or attempt at oratory."

Booker Washington, who was a pupil under him and enjoyed his friendship thru life, says he was "the noblest, rarest human being that it has ever been my privilege to meet. I do not hesitate to say that I never met any great man who in my estimation was his equal. The first time I went into his presence as a student, he made the impression upon me as being a perfect man, and I felt there was something about him superhuman, and until he died the more I saw of him the greater he grew."

He is not alone in this estimate. Many who knew Armstrong endorse it. His life, recently published, reveals him to us. So far as we can judge, no nobler, more useful, or more self-sacrificing life was ever lived. I think his life would interest you deeply.

The students of Hampton, of both sexes, were first taught how to take care of their bodies and how to conduct themselves. A high standard of cleanliness and neatness was established and rigidly enforced. Then came instruction in some craft, the women being taught domestic duties. The making of useful saleable articles was the aim, and from these came the funds needed to pay a large part of the cost of education. All work was paid for.

Hampton traces twenty-five educational institutions as its outgrowths. Between six and seven thousand of her graduates and ex-students are scattered thruout the South teaching in various branches, 305 in business or clerical work, and 176 graduates pursuing higher courses. The high standard General Armstrong introduced is fully sustained by his worthy, self-sacrificing successor, Mr. Frissell, a Scottish Fraser, and his invaluable wife, equally devoted to the cause.

Josiah King, of Pittsburgh, as trustee of the fund of another citizen, Mr. Avery, who left his fortune for the benefit of the negro race, gave the needed financial assistance which enabled General Armstrong to carry out his project of founding Hampton. I rejoice that Pittsburgh money found a mission so

noble, and that I knew in my boyhood both Testator and Trustee. Strange to say, the small farm of 159 acres, bought for the Hampton Institute, bore the captivating name of "Little Scotland." Somewhere not far away there no doubt rests one unknown to fame of whom it can be said, "A kindly Scot lies here."

Among the Hampton graduates the most distinguished is Booker Washington, the founder of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, which I had the pleasure of visiting last year for several days upon its quarter-centenary. I was never more deeply impressed. I saw the students of both sexes being taught the various occupations. Applicants must pass examination. The women are first shown their rooms, and instructed for a few days how scrupulously careful they must be to keep everything in perfect order, and in the performance of daily duties. Extreme attention is paid to personal habits, dress and deportment. Daily bathing and gymnastic exercises are enforced. Each attends to her own room, and is taught cooking, baking, dressmaking, sewing and, generally speaking, all that becomes a young educated woman. The young men are governed with equal care. The result is an assembly of students, as at Hampton, that compare not unfavorably with white students in our Northern Universities.

I was escorted thru the Industrial Schools, where all the crafts are taught. Asking one who was learning to be a tinsmith how long he had been there, he replied, "Three years, Sir." "How long have you yet to serve?" "Two more, Sir." "You will soon be making your Four Dollars per day." "I expect to make more than that, Sir," was the proud reply. The best tinsmiths make Five Dollars (£1 os 10d) per day. He was ambitious, and expected to be first class.

Asking the Superintendent if places could be found for all graduates in the crafts, he said that he had five applications for every graduate he could supply. Coachbuilders, masons, bricklayers, tin-

smiths, blacksmiths and shoemakers are all there, soon to be earning wages very much higher than in Scotland. Plenty of work for them, for the Tuskegee and Hampton graduation certificate means not only a competent mechanic, seamstress or cook, but a self-respecting man or woman. There is no objection to negroes being craftsmen thruout the South because under slavery the clever slaves did the larger part of such work, white craftsmen being few. Manual labor was only for slaves. Poor whites were above that degradation. They were poor, but gentlemen—at least they were white.

A traveling agricultural school, consisting of a large covered wagon, attracted my attention. Such wagons travel the region, giving negroes needed lessons. Here were displayed large photographic specimens of the cotton plant and of maize grown upon soils plowed to different depths. The advantages of deep plowing were so clearly shown that the most inert farmer could not rest plowing as shallow as before. I was told that such lessons were promptly taken to heart, and that the old cry "thirty acres and a mule" as the height of the negro's ambition is now "thirty acres and two mules," so that "plow deep" can be put in practice. Tuskegee takes deep interest in agriculture, and is rapidly raising standards, thru its experimental farm. Its students make great numbers of all kinds of agricultural implements and wagons. It is by these and kindred wise adaptations that Tuskegee has become a great educational force in many forms outside as inside her domain. Numerous are her off-shoots thruout the South—a fruitful brood.

Tuskegee has developed upon lines different from Hampton in one important feature. Here all is the work of negroes, the Principal and Professors, and even the architects are colored. Hampton employs white professors, and has a white man in charge. The total number of scholars at Tuskegee, including classes outside, was last year 1948, 1621 being stu-

dents regularly enrolled. All but about one hundred of the regular students board and sleep in the grounds. Twenty-three hundred acres of land surrounding are owned by the Institute and cultivated by the students, part being an experimental farm.

The endowment fund amounts to \$1,263,000, the largest by far of any colored institution. Mrs. Mary E. Shaw, a colored woman of New York, has just left all her money to it, \$38,000, the largest gift ever made to it by a negro. Thirty-seven different occupations are taught in the "Schools of Agriculture," "Mechanical Industries," and "Industries for Girls"—each of these three departments has separate buildings. An annual negro conference is held, and negro farmers and others come from all parts of the South, so famous have these meetings become. Two days' sessions are now required, one for farmers and one for teachers.

The choir alone is worth traveling to Tuskegee to hear. The Main Hall is large and vaulted, the stage ample, acoustics fine. The great choir of more than one hundred and fifty students sat back of the speakers, who occupied the front of the stage. I was not prepared for such enchanting strains as burst upon us from unseen singers. The music was sacred, and some of the finest gems were sung. I have heard many of the fine choirs of the world, in the Crystal Palace, St. James's Hall, Rome, Dresden, Paris, New York, and elsewhere; seldom do I miss an oratorio if I can help it, but never in my life did choral music effect me as at Tuskegee. Even the Russian choir in St. Petersburg I must rank second. The pure negro voice is unique. The organ fortunately was very small. One felt there was some ground for preferring the human voice for praise, for even the finest organ lacks something when negro voices swell.

Booker Washington is the combined Moses and Joshua of his people. Not only has he led them to the promised land, but still lives to teach them by example and precept how properly to enjoy it. He

is one of these extraordinary men who rise at rare intervals and work miracles. Born a slave, he is to-day the acknowledged leader of his race—a modest, gentlemanly man, of pure, simple life and engaging qualities, supremely wise, an orator, organiser and administrator combined. Considering what he was and what he is, and what he has already accomplished, the point he started from and the commanding position attained, he certainly is one of the most wonderful men living or who has ever lived. History is to tell of two Washingtons, the white and the black, one the father of his country, the other the leader of his race. I commend to you his autobiography, "Up from Slavery," as companion to "The Life of General Armstrong."

"There were giants in those days," we are apt to exclaim, and lament their absence in our own age, but this arises from our failure to recognize the gigantic proportions of some of our contemporaries. To-day is a King in disguise, Carlyle tells us. Hence our Kings pass unnoticed until viewed in their proper perspective by one who has the gift to see and reveal the true heroes to the masses. Future ages are to recognize our contemporary, Booker Washington, the slave, as a giant, distinguishing the age he lived in, and General Armstrong, the pioneer, as another who can never be forgotten in the history of the negro race. He will grow as he recedes. These men of our own day are hereafter to be canonized as true heroes of civilization, whose life-work was neither to kill nor maim, but to serve or save their fellows.

In the task of elevating the negro, the part played by the Northern people, from the inception of the Hampton School idea to the present day, has been great. Not only have many millions of dollars been contributed, but many earnest men have given, and are still giving their personal services, giving not money only, but themselves to the cause. Among these there is one who deserves special recognition, Robert C. Ogden, of New York, than whom none

was closer to General Armstrong from first to last, and who still serves as Chairman of the Southern Education Board. It is only just that the North should co-operate with the South in the great task, for it is equally responsible for slavery.

Lest you separate, holding the view that there remains little more to be accomplished in the negro problem, let me say that all that has been done, encouraging as it undoubtedly is, yet is trifling compared with what remains to be done.

The advanced few are only the leaders of the vast multitude that are still to be stimulated to move forward. Nor are the leaders themselves, with certain exceptions, all that it is hoped they are yet to become.

When you are told of the number owning land or attending schools, or of the millions of Church members, and the amount of wealth and of land possessed by the negro, pray remember that they number ten millions, scattered over an area nearly half as great as Europe.

The bright spots have been brought to your notice, but these are only small points surrounded by great areas of darkness. True, the stars are shining in the sky thru the darkness, but the sun spreading light over all has not yet arisen, altho there are not wanting convincing proofs that her morning beams begin to gild the mountain tops.

All the signs are encouraging, never so much so as to-day. One is quite justified in being sanguine that the result is to be a respectable, educated, intelligent race of colored citizens, increasing in numbers, possess of all civil rights, and who in return will by honest labor remain notably the chief factor in giving the world among other things its indispensable supply of cotton and, to no inconsiderable extent, of the products of cotton, while individual members gifted beyond the mass will worthily fill places in all the professions. Nor will the race fail to be distinguished from time to time in the future as in the past by

the advent of great men, fit successors of Frederick Douglas and Booker Washington.

It was inevitable in the changes that have been going on in the South since emancipation that the new generation of white men and black men should not have for each the same intimate and friendly feeling of the older generation who had known each other as master and slave. Much has been said of the estrangement between the races that has arisen since the war. But it is often overlooked that in recent years there has been growing quietly a closer and more cordial relationship between the better classes of both races. It began with the attempt of some of the best colored people and some of the best white people combining to prevent the crime of lynching which a few years ago seemed to be increasing throughout the South. From that time prominent white men have begun to take a more active interest in the progress of the Negro in his schools and in his churches. Men like ex-Governor Northen of Atlanta, Belton Gilreath of Birmingham, W. A. Blair of Winston-Salem and many others throughout the South are doing a great service to the country in bringing about co-operation between the races, and emphasizing the fact that the success of the white race is intimately bound up with the moral and material welfare of the black.

Quarrels arise at times between white and black as among white men and among blacks but these are isolated cases. It goes without saying that the general condition is one of peace between the races, otherwise the former slaves could never have been allowed to become landlords to the number of one hundred and seventy-six thousand in 1900, and in constantly increasing numbers ever since.

The Republic has its problems,—fortunately so—without new problems there would be stagnation; but, as in the past, so in the future she will surmount all that now exist and any that may come. Our race has never failed so far. One of the most serious of

the problems of the Republic in this generation has been that of the negro, now, as I hope I have shown, slowly but surely marching to satisfactory solution.

What is to be the final result of the white and black races living together in centuries to come need not concern us. They may remain separate and apart as now or may intermingle. That lies upon the "lap of the gods." Problems have a surprising way of settling themselves, which should teach our anxious element a lesson. Forty odd years ago the negro problem was "what to do with them?" To-day it is how we can get more of them; there being a shortage of labor in the South. That they will henceforth dwell in peace, co-operating more and more as patriotic citizens of the Republic, is I believe, already assured. I believe also that the negro is to continue to ascend morally, educationally and financially. I am quite resigned to our own and the negro races occupying the South together, confident that as time passes the two will view each other with increasing regard, and more and more realize that, destined as they are to dwell together, it is advantageous for both that they live in harmony as good neighbors and labor for the best interests of their common country.

Meanwhile, my personal experience of the South, small as it is compared with that of many Northern men who have been from the first, and still are, leaders in the work of elevating the negro, leads me to endorse the opinion of one of the best-known and foremost of these, the Rev. Lyman Abbott, Editor of the "Outlook," who has recently declared that "never in the history of man has a race made such educational and material progress in forty years as the American negro."

